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## By Bertil van Boer

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# A Rediscovered Sacred Work by J. M. Kraus

Some Observations on his Creative Process

By Bertil van Boer

Joseph Martin Kraus's endeavors in the field of sacred music have been well documented. He received his earliest musical training from the rector of the Buchen cathedral, Georg Pfister, and later attended the Jesuit Gymnasium in Mannheim. In 1775 he was enrolled in the University of Erfurt where he may have been a composition pupil of J. Chr. Kittel (1732-1809), who himself had studied under the great J. S. Bach<sup>1</sup>. After Kraus's father was indicted for misuse of office in 1776, the composer returned home to Buchen and, according to Rector Pfister, devoted his time to the composition of sacred music, including an oratorio cycle based upon the life of Christ<sup>2</sup>. In 1777 he attended the University of Göttingen, where he wrote his musical-aesthetical treatise Etwas von und über Musik fürs Jahre 1777 in which he commented at length on the state of church music in Germany<sup>3</sup>. When he moved to Stockholm a year later, he became involved in the sacred musical life of that city, composing smaller occasional works such as the aria Mot en alsvåldig magt, and during his Grand Tour 1782-1787, Kraus was cogniant of the various musical practices that occured in churches in the countries that he visited<sup>4</sup>. During these educational years, he composed his best sacred works, the motet Stella coeli, commissioned for the dedication of a new organ at the Benedictine monastery in Amorbach in 1783, and the giant fugue In te speravi, composed in Paris two years later.

However, after his return to Sweden in 1787, Kraus's interest in sacred music appeared to wan, and there is little evidence that he contributed actively in this field after that date. To be sure, there do exist two works of a sacred nature; the Sinfonia per la chiesa in D Major written for the blessing of parliament in 1789, and the small cantata Kom din herdestaf att bära written for Pastor Lehnberg's ordination in 1790. But the former was a special festive occasion of a principally secular nature for which Kraus was asked to provide incidental music as part of his duties as court Kapellmeister, rather than out of any special attachment to the Swedish Church, and the latter appears to have been composed as a personal

W Sawodny, "Einige Bemerkungen zur musikalischen Vorbildung von Joseph Martin Kraus", Joseph Martin Kraus in seiner Zeit. Ed. by F. W. Riedel, München & Salzburg 1982, pp. 31-32. For further information concerning Kittel's life and works, see A. Dreetz, J. Chr. Kittel, der letzte Bachschüler (Leipzig, 1932).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See letter from Rector Pfister to Kraus's father Berhard dated September 26, 1800. Quoted in full in H. Brosch 'Buchener Jugendjahre von Joseph Martin Kraus', *Der Wartturm* VIII/6 (1973), p. 1-2.

J.M. Kraus, Etwas von und über Musik fürs Jahre 1777, (Frankfurt am Main, 1778), pp. 94-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Kraus's Travel Diary (ms, S-Uu,) lvs. 2-4. Also letters dated December 4, 1783 to his parents from Florence, December 5, 1783 to J. S. Liedemann from the same place, and December 25, 1783 to his parents from Rome. Letters quoted in I. Leux-Henschen, *Joseph Martin Kraus in seinen Briefen*, (Stockholm, 1978).

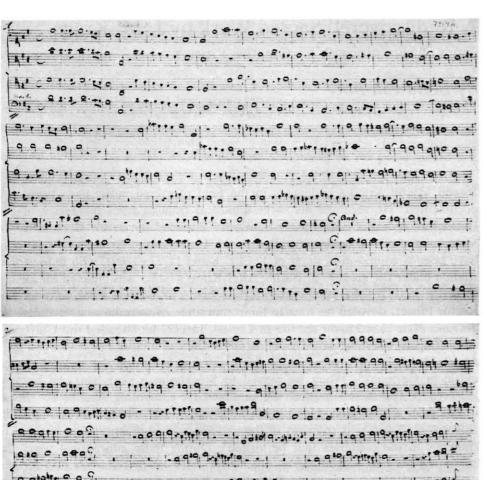
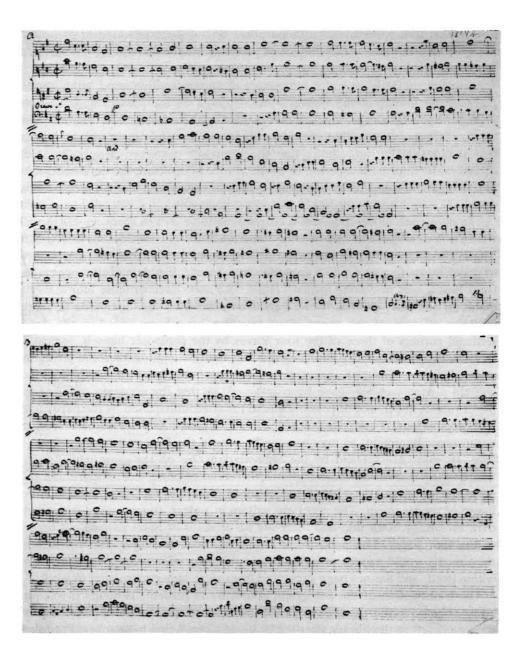


Illustration I. S-Uu Caps. 73:4, a & b. Facsimile of the Autograph.

favor for a friend. Indeed, the flamboyant operatic style of the small cantata, with the vigorous fanfares of the opening Da Capo aria Kom din herdestaf, the rich, thick wind texture of the short, through—composed duet Tala till ditt eget hjerta, and the pompous coda Där guds änglar, part of which has been lifted straight from the final chorus of the composer's early opera Azire 5, provides a sharp



contrast to the careful blending of instruments, the compact form, and the strict, studied counterpoint of earlier sacred works such as *Stella coeli*. In addition, it might be noticed that the above two works represent contributions written for the Swedish Protestant (Lutheran) Church by the Catholic Kraus, and at least one scholar has postulated that the composer made little or no contribution to the musical life of Stockholm's Catholic church, of which he was a member<sup>6</sup>. This

<sup>5</sup> Mm. 20-60 Mvt. III of the Church cantata correspond to mm. 87-98 of Azire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A. Palmqvist, Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Schweden nach 1781 (Uppsala, 1958), p. 175.

implies that Kraus, for all intensive purposes, abandoned sacred music after 1787, except where duties and the bounds of personal friendship required his services, as C.-A. Moberg has noted<sup>7</sup>.

However, the rediscovery of a fragment of an apparently sacred, contrapuntal piece in the library of the University of Uppsala by the present author would appear to contradict the conclusions reached by the scholars noted above. This work, a two movement *Partiturkonzept* for four voices and organ, may be tentatively dated to 1789, and shows that the composer continued at least to study sacred music into the last period of his short life. In addition, the unfinished state of the fragment raises some important questions concerning Kraus's creative process.

The autograph of the fragment is currently at the Carolina Redeviva in Uppsala where it is catalogued as *Instrumental musik i handskrift* (sic) Capsula 73:4, a & b. The manuscript, shown in facsimile in Illustration I., consists of two large sheets of paper measuring 42.4 x 33.5 cm which have been folded in half (but not cut) to form four leaves in oblong format (21.2 x 33.5 cm). Each of these four leaves is blank on one side, and has twelve handdrawn staves on the other. The fragment occupies all four of the pages. Page numbers have been added in the upper lefthand corners of three of the four leaves by the composer himself, indicating that the two movements comprising this fragment belong together and giving the internal order. However, pages three and four, the latter of which does not contain a page number, have been reversed, so that the apparent order of the pages runs 1, 2, [4], and 3, possibly due to the confusion caused by the paper fold. The work is scored for four voices (S, A, T, B), with indications of at least an organ accompaniment, as may be seen by cues in the Bass part on page four (= Mtv. II, mm. 22-32) and by the abbreviation Org on the same page (m.51). There is no text of any kind underneath the vocal parts, nor is there any title given the work, and therefore it is difficult at present to ascertain the function or intent of the fragment. The notes are written in a clear, concise script with a very dark brown, or black ink, and there are no erasures or notes crossed out on any of the four pages. The presence of extended codas and final cadences in both movements would appear to indicate that the piece represents a complete work within itself, and has not been excerpted from some larger movement or work.

The transmission of the autograph is obscure at present, although it was probably donated to the *Carolina* as part of the Silverstolpe Manuscript Collection of Krausiana left to the library after the death of Kraus's first biographer, Fredrik S. Silverstolpe in 1853. This may be seen by the question "Kraus?" written above the first staff on the first page in the hand of Silverstolpe. However, it is impossible to determine how the manuscript came into Silverstolpe's possession from the evidence at hand, and any further statement on the transmission of the fragment must remain conjectural pending further research. Silverstolpe was unsure about the authenticity of the piece, as may be seen by his question above, and by his

failure to include the work in the works list compiled for his biography of the composer<sup>8</sup>. But there are several indications that clearly show Kraus to be the true composer. First, the entire autograph is written in Kraus's distinctive hand. Second, the present *Partiturkonzept* represents a certain, readily-indentifiable step in the composer's creative process, as will be discussed shortly in this article. Third, there exists abundant musical evidence to link this fragment with other sacred (and secular) works of Kraus. This evidence comprises the shortness of the motifs used as themes, the tendency to modulate towards the relative minor, the abrupt cadences separating the various motivic sections, the extended codas, the similarity of thematic material with other known works such as the Sinfonia per la chiesa, and the use of the sustained pedal bass at one point to stabilize the fugue. The first movement of the work consists of a Maestoso introduction followed by a fugal Andante (59 m.) and the second comprises a very short Grave section introducing another fugal Andante (119 m.). The opening movement begins with an octave unison statement based upon the scale of D Major. Thereafter follow three short, imitative sections, each separated by four one-beat rests, based upon three motifs, as may be seen in Example 1. The purpose of this

Example 1. Mvt. 1.



somewhat disjointed section is to modulate in a series of steps to B Minor on a half-cadence at m. 28, the beginning key of the Andante fugue. This second section is likewise broken up into imitative fragments; all of the voices hardly state the theme than the music cadences abruptly. A short octave unison preceeds the coda. This favorite use of the octave unison in all voices appears in much of Kraus's Catholic sacred music. The best examples, comparatively, may be seen in the final fugue In te speravi from a Te Deum dated 1776 and in the motet Stella coeli from 1783, the first of which shows some similarity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> C. A. Moberg, Kyrkomusikens historia, (Stockholm, 1932), p. 456.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> F. S. Silverstolpe, *Biographie öfver Kraus*, (Stockholm, 1833), pp. 152-158. Ms copies in S-Uu (Folio X 270a) and at the Silverstolpe estate in Rö, Uppland, Sweden.

Example 2. a) Fragment, Mvt. 1, mm. 54-57; b) Te Deum, Mvt. 6, mm. 109-114; c) Stella Coeli, mm. 157-164.





in usage to the fragment (Example 2). The second movement also begins with a octave unison choral statement in D Major. The structure and tone of this opening is reminiscent of the beginning of the Sinfonia per la chiesa, written about the same year (Example 3). The Grave introduction

Example 3. a) Fragment, Mvt. 11, mm. 1-7; b) Symphony in D Major, mm. 1-4.





is shorter and more homophonic than in the first movement. But the short, imitative motives separated by rests have been replaced by a more cohesive structure, less contrapuntal in nature and far more conservative in its modulatory sequences. The fugal Andante (m. 21) consists of two separate sections; the first, mm. 21-67, is divided into two imitative phrases separated by a short homophonic section; and the second, mm. 68-119, is a single fugal exposition with an attached coda. One of Kraus's favorite devices, the stabilization of a phrase through the use of an extended pedal point in the bass, may be seen both in mm. 22-32 (organ cues) and in mm. 108-112 (vocal bass). This device appears with some regularity in virtually all of Kraus's sacred works, such as the fugue Speravi in te (1786 - Example 4)9. Overall, the fragment is a bright festive piece

Example 4. a) Speravi in te, mm. 77-80; b) Fragment, Mvt. 1, mm. 108-112.



in a typical Kraus sacred vein in which the composer has attempted to weld his predeliction for conciseness and motivic structure on to a strict contrapuntal style.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The stabilization of contrapuntal material through the use of a pedal bass also appears in certain secular works, such as the Sinfonia da chiesa in D Major (1789), mm. 188-205.

It has not been possible to give the fragment an exact date. The handwriting style shows that it is a late work, certainly after  $1783-84^{10}$ . However, some chronological indications may be obtained through a comparative watermark analysis with other datable works by Kraus. The paper is Swedish and comes from the Tumba paper mill outside of Stockholm. It contains the same watermark (TUMBA – Crown – No 2) as paper used by Kraus for the Sinfonia per la chiesa composed in  $1789^{11}$ . Contrasts between the watermarks of the fragment and those of autographs composed in 1787 (TUMBA – Crown – No 1), such as the concert duet Se non ti moro<sup>12</sup>, and those composed circa 1790, such as the aria Kom din herdestaf (Helmeted Goddess with shield and spear in a stake enclosure – PRO PATRIA – EM)<sup>13</sup>, would appear to substantiate a date of around 1788-1789 for the fragment. However, it must be emphasized that dating by this method of comparative watermark analysis is most tentative, and subject to reinterpretation as further research on Swedish papers of this period is made available.

It has also not been possible to determine the purpose for which this work was written. In my forthcoming systematic-thematic catalogue of the works of Joseph Martin Kraus, I give the fragment the title "Contrapuntal Motet". However, this label is an arbitrary one bestowed upon the piece to distinguish it among the other sacred works and to show tentatively what the fragment most likely represents. It would seem that Kraus meant for the two movements to belong to a single larger work, but it cannot be determined from the evidence at hand whether the whole represents a Partiturkonzept of a single work, separate movements from a much larger work such as a Mass or Miserere, or an exercise in counterpoint with no specific purpose in mind. Given the clarity of the writing, the completeness of the music, and the indications for further instrumentation (i.e. the organ cues), it appears most likely that either of the first two possibilities presented above is correct, and the piece represents a work such as a small motet. But the absence of any textual indications obscures the true nature of the fragment, and it is subject to interpretation as any one of the three possibilities listed above pending the rediscovery of additional sources. That it is at least a sacred piece is vouchsafed both by Kraus's use of the traditional soprano and alto clefs, and by the indications for an organ accompaniment 15.

The rediscovery of this fragment is significant in that it shows that, far from abanadoning interest in sacred music, Kraus continued to compose works for the church during the last years of his life. In addition, it proves that Kraus continued

to experiment in a contrapuntal style, as may be seen both in this fragment, and in purely instrumental compositions such as the *Sinfonia per la chiesa* and Overture in D Minor both from 1789<sup>16</sup>. However, much work remains to be done to determine the true extent of Kraus's involvement in the composition of sacred works during this period. This in turn will lead to a reassessment of the statements of earlier researchers such as Palmquist and Moberg on Kraus's contributions and activity in this genre.

The unfinished state of the sacred fragment raises some additional questions concerning Kraus's own creative process. What step does this *Partiturkonzept* represent in the total compositional process? Can it be proven that all of Kraus's music of such complexity arose through a series of sketches, or can a case be made for genesis of a work in a single burst of creative energy? Neither of these questions has a simple answer. Rather, there appears to be support for both spontaneous generation and progressive creativity.

There exists a notion that musical works sprang fullgrown from the heads of certain geniuses like W. A. Mozart. This myth, propagated by the Romantics<sup>17</sup>, has generally been disproven by the discovery of a host of rough sketches and drafts, which show beyond a shadow of a doubt that Mozart, at least, was a careful and deliberate composer. But the idea of spontaneous generation dies hard, and it certainly cannot be disproven that, on occasion, a composer like Mozart did create a work rapidly by omitting some of the intermediate compositional steps<sup>18</sup>. For Kraus, we are fortunate enough to have one piece of evidence that suggests that he too was capable of generating a complex work without resorting to a laborious process of preliminary sketches and/or revisions. This evidence comes from the pen of Kraus's friend Pater Roman Hoffstetter, who wrote to Fredrick S. Silverstolpe on September 4, 1800:

"Ein Stella coeli, welches er, als er im Jahr 1783 hier zu Amorbach war, auf mein Ansuchen eigents für unsern Musick-Chor gesezt. Ein in Wahrheit herrliches meisterhaft geseztes Werck! ist im C. Ton, fängt mit 3/4 Takt an. Nach einem kurzen Ritornell und kurzen Eingang Tenor solo, beginnt ein angenehm. majestätisches Chor, das endlich in eine schöne, tief gedachte Fuge in Cb [= C Minor] übergeht. Den Schluss machet ein sehr gefälliges, höchst angenehmes Orgel solo, auch in diesem hat der Sopran anfänglich ein kurzes solo, worauf denn ein volles Tutti folgte, mit durchaus obligater Orgel. Er überlies mir das Original davon, die eigene erste Composition, die in 22. gedrängt geschriebenen quer-Folio Seiten besteht; und, diese zu sezen verwendete er nicht volle 2. Tage! Dabei ist im ganzen Werck auch nicht eine einzige Note gestrichen, obgleich die Fuge besonders äusserst tief ausstudirt ist!" 19

An analysis of the handwriting styles of the composer throughout the various periods of his life will be undertaken in the author's forthcoming work *Die Werke von Joseph Martin Kraus: Die Überlieferung.* An example of his script prior to the Grand Tour (*ante* 1782) may be seen in the autograph to a Symphony in C Major (*S-Uu* Caps. 29, ca. 1778–1780). His style post 1782 appears in the autograph to a Symphony in C Minor (*S-Uu* Caps. 26).

Autograph S-St Div. Part. 40 (presently S-Skma).

Autograph S-Uu Caps. 92:3. From the effects of J. C. F. Haeffner.

Autograph S-St Kyrkomusik 50 [52] (Presently S-Skma).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> B. van Boer Jr., Die Werke von Joseph Martin Kraus: Systematisch-thematisches Werkverzeichnis, in press. The work is listed as VB 14.

Without exception, all of Kraus's works for the stage which contain a 4-part chorus use two sopranos with the upper voice parts written in treble clef. Sacred works, such as the *Miserere nostri* in C Minor and the fugue *Speravi in te* (both works 1783–1787), generally use the traditional soprano and alto clefs, thus distinguishing them from the secular works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Autograph S-St Div. Part. 40 and Kyrkomusik 38. Both of these symphonies appear to have had some sacred function, the former being used as incidental music to the blessing of the Swedish parliament in 1789, as has been stated previously.

A. Einstein, Mozart, His Character, His Work, (London, 1945), pp. 142-143. The Romantic notion of the Genie-Begriff receives some support from the following comment by Mozart himself in a letter to his father dated April 8, 1781: "... a sonata with violin accompaniment for myself, which I composed last night between 11 and 12 (but in order to finish, I only wrote out the accompaniment for Brunetti [i.e., the violin part] and retained my own part in my head ...." However, the autograph to this sonata (KV 373a) clearly shows that Mozart did indeed make some rough sketches of the piano part, which he later recopied over when writing out the fair copy. But this idea of Mozart as a spontaneous generator of music has persisted into modern times, as may be seen in R. Rolland's comments in The Mozart Handbook, ed. by L. Biancolli, (New York, 1954), p. 172.

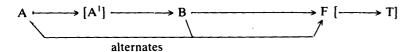
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See E. Hertzmann, "Mozart's Creative Process", *The Creative World of Mozart*, (New York, 1963), pp. 17–20. A marvellous example is the Symphony in C Major "Linz" KV 425, which was apparently written between October 31 and November 3, 1783 (Letter of October 31, 1783 to his father).

Quoted in H. Unverricht, Die beiden Hoffstetter, (Mainz, 1968), p. 24. Original S-Uu folio X 270f.

The Stella coeli is a large-scale work of surprising complexity. As Hoffstetter' clearly states, it contains an intricate fugue, a virtuoso organ part, and shows a great deal of mastery by Kraus in vocal composition. It has been considered by scholars to be Kraus's best sacred work, an opinion confirmed by the relative frequency of the motet's performance in modern times<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately, the autograph has disappeared from its resting place in the Benedictine monastery in Amorbach, West Germany. But Hoffstetter's detailed description of both the content and genesis of the work appear to be extremely accurate, as if the monk had the original in front of his eyes as he wrote to Kraus's first biographer. It is clear that the monk had still not forgotten the amazing circumstances surrounding the composition of the motet through the intervening years, and his memory of it is vivid compared with the other works which he describes in the same letter<sup>21</sup>. Thus we have an important reference to Kraus's ability to create a work upon demand, apparently out of thin air.

However, despite the compositional feat attested to by Hoffstetter, there exists ample evidence in the form of drafts and sketches to suggest that this spontaneous method of composition was not Kraus's normal modus operandi, and that most of the rest of his compositions were the products of several stages in the creative process. Table One lists the surviving sketches arranged according to their relative completeness: rough draft (pencil or ink), Partiturkonzept, and fair copy. Most have been added as an appendix to volumes in the Silverstolpe Manuscript Donation, and have survived in good condition. An examination of these drafts is necessary to show how Kraus composed his music.

The sketches would appear to indicate that Kraus's normal method of composition consisted of three or more basic steps, as illustrated below:



The first step in this series was a rough draft of the melody line or bass of a work on a piece of scrap paper (A). This basic sketch consists often of the theme and certain working out of thematic elements in development sections, but can also include some indications for rough orchestrations and accompaniments. At times, it was probably necessary to progress through several rough drafts, where further modifications and/or developments occured (A<sup>1</sup>). The second basic step was the combining of these rough drafts into a score (B). In this part, elements of the orchestration and final form of the piece were worked out, and the composition received fine-tuning. The final step in the process was the fair copy from which

Table One

A List of Surviving Sketches and Fragments by Joseph Martin Kraus

Work		Library-Signature	Description
1 Access Condenses		A. Sketches	
1. Aeneas i Carthago Act V, No. 4 and No. 13		S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 15. V. 6	3 lvs, 23 × 38.2 cm 1 lf, 17.5 × 32.2 cm NB. One written in pencil
2. Cantata Fiskarstugan		S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 52.	$1 \text{ lf}, 20.5 \times 32.5 \text{ cm}$
3. Cantata 24 Januarii 1792		S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 52.	$1 \text{ lf}, 20.5 \times 32.5 \text{ cm}$
<ol> <li>"Fuga af Kraus" =         Mvt. II. Overture to         Die Pilger auf Golgatha by         J. G. Albrechtsberger.</li> </ol>		S-Skma Od/Sv-R. I:l	10 lvs, $16.5 \times 22.7$ cm NB. Fragments by Kraus on last two pages only.
	B. Fr	ragments (= Partiturkonzepte	<del>e</del> )
1. "Contrapuntal Motet"		S-Uu Caps. 73:4a & b	4 lvs, $21.2 \times 33.5$ cm
2. Aria from Visittimman "Hör mina ömma suckar klaga"		S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 51.	$1 \text{ lf}, 24.5 \times 31 \text{ cm}$
3. Chorus "Må Sveafolk din tacksamhet" from the Prologue for Duke Carl of Södermanland's Birthday		S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 23.	4 lvs, 24.1 × 30 cm
4. Overture in D Minor		S-St Kyrkomusik 38	$8 \text{ lvs}, 24 \times 38.5 \text{ cm}.$
Abbreviations:			
Caps. Capsula cm. centimeter lf, lvs leaf, leaves	Mvt. No.	Movement Number	

NB. Library sigla follow RISM standard designations.

the necessary performance parts could be made (F). Although this score, usually written in a clear and legible style, represents Kraus's end result of any one composition, occasionally there are crossed out sections and some additional revisions that occur even at this last stage. Sometimes even a step was taken by the composer in which a final composition was revised even after the fair copy stage, resulting in another alternate version of a work  $(T^{22})$ . At other times some of the intermediate steps  $(A^1 \text{ or } B)$  could be omitted or even compressed together, as happens in some of Kraus-Bellman cantatas of 1791 – 1792.

The one surviving example of the entire compositional process may be seen in the Sinfonia per la chiesa in two movements (D Minor). This work consists of a slow introduction and a fugue, reworked by Kraus from the second movement of the overture to the oratorio Die Pilger auf Golgatha composed by J.G. Albrechts-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See G. Schweizer, "Ein Altersgenosse Mozarts", Acta Mozartiana III/3 (1956), p. 17. Performance parts of the motet in S-Skma (dated 1928) show signs of use. a recording of this work is available (GEMA OV-61).

Unverricht, pp. 24-25. Hoffstetter generally mentions only categories of works, such as "Arien und Motetten" or "Symphonien". Where specific works are mentioned, such as the Te Deum (1776), they are accorded only a cursory examination followed by laudatory remarks.

Examples of crossed out measures in a fair copy (F): Aria Mot en alsväldig magt (S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 12), m. 138; Symphony in E-flat Major (S-St Div. Part. 40), m. 73/Mvt. III. An example of step T may be seen in the Swedish pastoral motet Den frid et menlöst hjerta, written ca 1778-1780, revised ca 1782 (Both autographs, S-Skma Z/Sv).

berger in 1782<sup>23</sup>. Sketches for the fugue may be found on the last two pages of a score of Albrectsberger's work now in the library of the Royal Musical Academy in Stockholm under the signature Od/Sv-R. 1:1. This step (A) in the process shows Kraus's original concept of altering the final cadence in Albrechtsberger's overture (Example 5a). The second step (B) of this process appears in the Partiturkonzept, a hastily written rough score which currently forms part of supplemental material to the funeral music for Gustav III in the "Kungliga teaterns bibliotek" (Signature Kyrkomusik 38). Here the entire fugue has been expanded by Kraus from its original time signature of 4/4 to 4/2 (C), and the orchestration has been augmented by the addition of cuemarks for two bassoons. In addition, the slow introduction has been attached. Frequent crossed out passages and notes indicate that the compositional process was still ongoing, and that the work was under constant revision. But the parameters of the whole are defined, and the extent to which Kraus has gone in determining the final shape and orchestration may be clearly recognized. However, even at this stage, Kraus appears not to have been satisfied with the final cadence, as further alterations occur on the final pages (Example 5B). Though the actual final autograph of this work has not surrvived, an authentic copy by Kraus's friend and pupil Per Frigel has, in which the final form, or fair copy (F),

Example 5. a) s-Skma Od/Sv-R. 1:1. Final Cadence of the "Fuga av Kraus" (Albrechtsberger). b) S-St Kyrkomusik 38. Final Cadence. (Diplomatic transcriptions by the present author.)



<sup>23</sup> C.-G. Stellan Mörner, *Johan Wikmanson und die Brüder Silverstolpe*, (Stockholm, 1952), p. 399. A letter from J. G. Albrechtsberger to F. S. Silverstolpe dated November 12, 1804 acknowledges the true origins of the fugue used by Kraus (Orig. Riksarkivet, Stockholm).

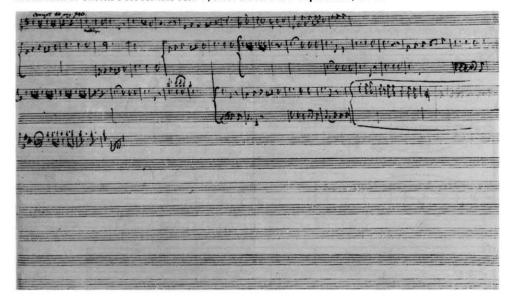


may be determined. A comparison between Frigel's copy (F) and the *Partiturkonzept* (B) shows that Kraus rewrote the final cadence to conform to his corrections, thus omitting any ambiguities that might have been caused by the somewhat messy state of the *Konzept*. In this one instance, it has been possible to trace an

entire work through the creative process. But this has not been possible with the other remaining fragments, for, in most cases, the intermediate or initial steps in the compositional process have not survived. However, despite the missing links for the other works shown in Table One, an analysis of several show some interesting results.

Perhaps the most interesting of the rough sketchs are those from the opera Aeneas i Carthago, preserved as an appendix to the last volume of Silverstolpe's transcription of the opera in Uppsala. Though the separate leaves have been numbered, apparently by Haeffner for the disposition of Kraus's musicalia after the latter's death in  $1792^{24}$ , this numbering does not seem to be in any particular chronological order, and the watermarks of these leaves (Helmeted Goddess with shield and spear in a stake enclosure – PRO PATRIA – EM) indicates only that they were drafted during the period 1790 - 1791. However, the painstaking effort with which Kraus outlined the duet Mäktiga gudar, styren min arm (Act V, No. 4) between Aeneas and Jarbas is evident in the three surviving sketches devoted to the various reworkings of the vocal lines.

Illustration 2. Sketch 1 for Aeneas Act V, No.4 Duet. S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 15/VI.



In the first example shown in illustration 2 above, Kraus clearly delineates the introductory instrumental rhythm:

showing that Engländer's suggestion that this "dactylic" rythm may be attributed

to Haeffner is false<sup>25</sup>. The vocal entrance is characterized by an octave d'-d drop (unison for both principals?) that also appears in the second sketch (Example 6a). However, in this second version, the phrase styren min arm, sung in unison by the protagonists in the first draft, appears in thirds, followed by a melodic figure. The beginning of the next phrase störten en trotsig fiende is identical in both of the above sketches, but thereafter similarities between the two diminish. A closer relationship may be found between the second and third sketches (Examples 6a & 6b). The notes correspond more closely, though in the third sketch the octave leap in the first phrase has been eliminated, and conforms to the final version of the aria as found in the authentic score in Stockholm's Royal Opera Library (Operor D 1). The short melodic figure of the second sketch, based upon a rising scale, has been altered to appear as a falling D Major arpeggio in the

Example 6. a) Sketch 2 for Aeneas Act V, No. 4 Duet, S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 15/VI; b) Sketch 3 for Aeneas Act V, No.4 Duet, same source. (Diplomatic transcriptions by the present author).

a) AEN [EAS] ti-ge gu-dar - [en min arm] J [ARBAS] fi-en-de ne-der Mäk--- [tige] Gu-dar Störtenen trot-sig Mäken [trot-sig fi-en-de] Storten en trot-sig] fi-en-de Stör-ten fi-en-de] Gu-dar! Sty-ren, sty—ren min arm der – ti-ge Gu-dar sturen min arm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See Silverstolpe's handwritten commentary on Aeneas, S-Uu Caps. 57:3a, 15/VI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> R. Engländer, Joseph Martin Kraus und die gustavianische Oper, (Uppsala, 1942), p. 156. But see also p. 174<sup>1</sup>.



third (and has been removed entirely in the authentic score = final version). The remaining part of the passage in both examples shows the rhythmic changes that Kraus incorporated to allow for the changes in text declamation, although the notes are the same. While no definitive chronological order may be proven conclusively for this series of sketches, the close correspondence of Sketch 3 to the final form in the authentic score suggests that it was the last written. Further substantiation may be found in the rough draft of a part of the final chorus Ljusens magter af er lag (Act V, No. 16) on the first two staves of the sketch. Sketch 1 does appear on face value to be more primitive than Sketch 2, lacking the character differentiations and textual indications of the latter. But there exists no concrete proof that Sketch 1 preceeds Sketch 2, or 3 for that matter, and further study must be undertaken before a more definitive chronological order may be given.

The two rough drafts for the piano cantatas to texts by Carl Michael Bellman date from about 1790 - 1792. Since the autograph of one of these, the cantata Bland de hvita -24 januarii 1792, is dated, it may indeed be assumed that the sketches were most probably done around the New Year  $1792^{26}$ . One interesting

aspect of these sketches is the close similarity to the final form that they exhibit. Indeed, so clearly are the musical lines defined that it may perhaps be suggested that Kraus proceeded directly from rough sketch to finished product, without benefit of an intermediate *Partiturkonzept*. To be sure, some sources may be missing, and such an assertion cannot be substantiated without further research. But if future study confirms the compositional process from rough draft to final form, then this alternative step in Kraus's method may shed some light on his creative process regarding other small-scale forms, such as the songs.

The semi-instrumented fragments (Partiturkonzepte) also provide interesting information concerning the development of Kraus's music. The concept for the "contrapuntal motet" has been discussed previously in this article, and shows the continuation of Kraus's interest in the field of sacred music and strict contrapuntal writing after 1787. The two remaining fragments belong to works written for the stage; the first, part of an insert aria to Ristell's adaptation of Poinsinet's play Le Cercle (Visittimman) "Hör mina ömma suckar klaga", consists of a single leaf taken from the middle of the aria, and the second comprises a more-or-less complete draft of the final chorus from a prologue by D.G. Björn written for the birthday of Duke Carl of Södermanland (later Carl XIII) in 1790 ("Må Sveafolk din tacksamhet").

The fragment from *Visittimman* is written upon one side of the paper only, and appears to comprise the greater part of the second or third stanzas of the aria. The text underlay for the voice part is not filled in, and a more accurate placement of the fragment is uncertain at present. A comparison with other autographs by Kraus allows a tentative reconstruction of the aria's original orchestration. The top three staves, generally reserved for the two horns and upper woodwinds according to Kraus's normal score order<sup>27</sup>, are empty, although bar lines have been drawn indicating their eventual inclusion into the aria. The next three staves contain the two violin and viola parts and are fully written out. The final three staves appear to be for bassoon (empty), voice, and bass (violoncello & contrabass). Perhaps the most important bit of information that may be gleaned from this fragment can be shown by a comparison between it and Olof Åhlström's piano reduction for the *Musikaliskt tidsfördrif* in 1789: the original format of the aria appears to be through-composed, while the printed version represents a strophic simplification.

The chorus "Må Sveafolk din tacksamhet" represents a complete draft of the concept for the last movement of the birthday prologue for Duke Carl of Södermanland, which originally contained music by several composers<sup>28</sup>. The title "Finale till Prolog den 7. Okt 91" is written by Kraus hastily in the margins of the first page, and pages five and six have been glued together. An examination of the glued pages under a light table by the present author revealed the presence of yet another unidentified fragmental piece of music in tenor clef, possibly in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Autograph of Cantata Bland de hvita etc. S-Sk Vf. 37. All of the surviving Bellman-Kraus collaborations appear to date between December 1791-March 1792, according to the dates given by the autographs.

The two upper winds probably consisted of either two flutes or two oboes. The court clarinettists generally did not perform for anything other than the royal opera, and they appear only in Kraus's choruses to Adlerbeth's drama Oedipe (1792). They are omitted in other lesser stage works such as Äfventyraren (1791) or Fintbergs bröllop (1787).

Libretto S-Sk Sv. Saml. Vitt. och Sv. Dram. (BR) 4. There is no mention of any composer in the libretto.

hand other than Kraus's. As with the surviving concept for the aria, the choral vocal parts do not contain any textual indications, although the solo voices (Clio (S), Mars (T), Neptune (B) do. Thus it is possible to reconstruct their parts in the latter half of the chours. In contrast to the aria concept, the woodwind (2 Oboes) and horn parts have been written out. But the upper two staves, which Kraus normally reserves for trumpets and timpani, remain blank, although bar lines have been drawn in. This fragment, along with the Partiturkonzept for the overture in D-Minor, represent the all-but-final stage of the compositional process, and it is possible to reconstruct the final version as Kraus intended it from them with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

Although relatively few of Kraus's sketches and fragments have survived, those remaining give an important glimpse into the composer's creative process. There is historical secondary evidence that on occasion Kraus was able to conjure up a work out of thin air through the process of spontaneous generation. But the existance of sketches and more fully worked out concepts show that his normal modus operandi consisted of a series of intermediate steps, in which the material was continually reformed and revised until Kraus was satisfied with its content. It is hoped that future study of the surviving sketches and the rediscovery of new sketches will further illuminate the intricacies of Kraus's creative process.